

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT**  
**ROUTING SLIP**

TO:

		ACTION	INFO	DATE	INITIAL
1	DCI		X		
2	DDCI		X		
3	EXDIR				
4	D/ICS		X		
5	DDI		X		
6	DDA				
7	DBO		X		
8	DDS&T				
9	Chm/NIC		X		
10	GC		X		
11	IG				
12	Compt				
13	D/OCA				
14	D/PAO				
15	D/PERS				
16	D/Ex Staff				
17	C/LA/DO		X		
18	D/ALA/DI		X		
19	NIO/LA		X		
20	C/CTC/DO		X		
21	C/CNC/BI		X		
22					

*[Handwritten signature]*  
SUSPENSE

Remarks

ER 89-3598

Executive Secretary

5 Sep 89

Date

3637 (10-81)

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT**  
ROUTING SLIP

TO: *QMR*

		ACTION	INFO	DATE	INITIAL
1	DCI		X		
2	DDCI		X		✓
3	EXDIR				
4	D/ICS		X		
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7	DDO		X		
8	DDS&T				
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11	IG				
12	Compt				
13	D/OCA				
14	D/PAO				
15	D/PERS				
16	D/Ex Staff				
17	C/LA/DO		X		
18	D/ALA/DI		X		
19	NIO/LA		X		
20	C/CTC/DO		X		
21	C/CNC/DI		X		
22					

SUSPENSE \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks

ER 89-3598

Executive Secretary  
5 Sep 89

3637 (10-81)

Date  
**L-108-IR**  
**NSD 21**

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT**  
**ROUTING SLIP**

TO:		ACTION	INFO	DATE	INITIAL
<del>1</del>	DCI		X	9/c	<i>[Signature]</i>
2	DDCI		X		
3	EXDIR				
4	D/ICS		X		
5	DDI		X		
6	DDA				
7	DDO		X		
8	DDS&T				
9	Chm/NIC		X		
10	GC		X		
11	IG				
12	Compt				
13	D/OCA				
14	D/PAO				
15	D/PERS				
16	D/Ex Staff				
17	C/LA/DO		X		
18	D/ALA/DI		X		
19	NIO/LA		X		
20	C/CTC/DO		X		
21	C/CNC/DI		X		
22					
SUSPENSE		Date _____			

Remarks

ER 89-3598

Executive Secretary

5 Sep 89

Date

**3637** (10-81)

L-108-IR

ER 89-3598

SECRETNo. NSD 21  
COPY #7 (CIA)

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NSD 21

SECRET**SECRET**

21063

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 1, 1989

NATIONAL SECURITY DIRECTIVE 2

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY  
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
THE DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF  
MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE  
CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR  
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS  
CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

SUBJECT: U.S. Policy Towards Panama Under Noriega after  
September 1, 1989 (C)

United States policy towards Panama continues to be to achieve the departure of General Noriega from power and the establishment of a democratic government based on the will of the people as expressed in free elections. It now appears certain that General Noriega does not intend to allow this to take place on September 1, the date which the Panamanian Constitution sets for the installation of a new government. Accordingly, I direct that: (S)

1. The United States Government will withhold recognition of any Panamanian Government controlled by General Noriega or holding power at his sufferance. In announcing this fact, we will state that free elections were held in Panama on May 7, 1989, that the Endara slate clearly won those elections, and that the United States will recognize only a government which is the result of a democratic process. (S)
2. The Secretary of State should ask other governments to withhold recognition of any Noriega controlled government, to withdraw their Ambassadors and military attaches from Panama, and to limit any official contact to the minimum level possible. (S)
3. As long as current conditions prevail, the U.S. Embassy in Panama will be maintained in its present status. (S)

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4. The Secretary of Treasury should take the appropriate measures to continue to hold in escrow the Panamanian Government assets escrowed for the Panamanian people under the auspices of the Delvalle Government in the absence of a recognized government to alter our escrow instructions. (S)
5. The Secretary of the Treasury should continue to escrow Treaty payments to Panama until there is a Government we recognize in place there. (S)
6. Present U.S. economic sanctions in force in Panama should henceforth be strictly enforced after advance notice is provided to affected U.S. companies. (S)

*C. Bunker*  
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